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first merchants of the world's metropolis, and delivered in person by a highly respectable delegation. It was received in the most cordial manner by Louis Napoleon, and responded to in terms the most conciliatory.

The London Peace Society, the most venerable of all the Peace Societies on that side of the Atlantic, has been going forward with its accustomed vigor and determination. I have often, Mr. President, had occasion to admire the course of that noble Society. For a period of thirty-seven years it has pursued the even tenor of its way, always faithful to the great principles of peace. With the most commendable fidelity it has, through all that period, amid all the scorn, contumely and reproach which the advocates of the war-system could heap upon it, continued to enunciate and enforce its pacific sentiments. Its publication, the Herald of Peace, has ever been conducted with ability, and been a powerful instrumentality in advancing the peace cause to its present high position.

Such, Sir, is the aspect of our cause abroad. The war-system is to Europe what slavery is in the United States, the great, paramount question. It overrides all others. It must absorb all others. The great battle with that colossal system of robbery and wrong, must be fought on European soil; for there it stands out to public gaze in all its hideous deformity. With us, it makes but little show, and to the popular mind is but a secondary evil. Here Slavery overshadows and conceals it, as it comparatively does all other evils. Hence we cannot be brought into the contest with the war-system, as the people of England are. But, Sir, we can aid them; we can give them our sympathy. It will be of great service to their cause. They can give us their assistance in our great struggle; we can mutually help each other; and it is our duty to do so. I pray God, Sir, that the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family may always be found sympathising with and assisting each other in every great effort to advance the interests of humanity, freedom and peace.

In view of the facts to which I have thus hastily referred, let us be grateful, and take courage. We have no cause whatever to despair. We have labored long in sowing the seed, in preparing the public mind for the abolition of the war-system. That preliminary work is mainly done. We are now entering upon a new era. Our principles are to be applied. The governments of Christendom are to be compelled by the voice of the people to change their system of national defenses, and, instead of madly arming against each other, and continually preparing for war, simultaneously, and by mutual consent, reduce their military establishments, agree upon arbitration treaties, and PREPARE FOR PEACE.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEACE CAUSE CERTAIN IN CONNEXION WITH THE
OTHER CHRISTIAN ENTERPRISES OF THE AGE.

The Rev. RUFUS W. CLARK, of Boston, spoke in support of the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That our gratitude is due to Almighty God for the measure of success which has attended our efforts to create a public opinion in favor of Peace, and to impress our principles upon the minds of civil rulers.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society, and of the community at large, are due to those members of Congress and of our State Legislatures, who have so readily lent their aid in bringing the subject of Peaceful Substitutes for War before those bodies, and securing in so many cases such decisive action in their favor; and that we fully approve the purpose of our Executive Committee to persevere in pressing this subject on the attention of our rulers, until the adoption of such substitutes shall become the settled and permanent policy of our Republic.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every Christian, and every friend of humanity, to aid in carrying forward a cause which not only contemplates the removal of the terrible evils of war, but is vitally connected with the interests of freedom, the progress of civilization, and the extension of the gospel among the nations of the earth.

Mr. President,—A prominent argument against the operations of Peace Societies has been the supposed impracticability of any schemes to do away the custom of war. We have been told that the war-element is so ingrafted in the nature of man, so inwrought with the frame-work of human governments, and so fully sustained by the past history of all nations, that it is a vain endeavor to attempt to eradicate it.

We are ready to allow that the evil with which we are grappling, is one of vast extent and prodigious power. We allow that it has taken deep root in the soil of human depravity, that it is sustained by the worst passions of men, by the sanction of the past, by noisy demagogues, and by a class of men who cannot rise to the contemplation of a principle, nor be influenced by the claims of humanity, justice and religion. But if it be true that the war-spirit cannot be quenched, that this barbarous institution cannot be crushed, then civilization must step making progress, and the prophetic utterances respecting the universal spread and triumph of the gospel, will never be fulfilled. If the American Peace Society has embarked in a Utopian enterprise, then all the other benevolent Societies that celebrate their annual festivities during this week, are involved in the same unfortunate condition. For the prevalence of war necessarily creates a suspension of all philanthropic movements, and Christian endeavors to elevate, purify and bless society. It rapidly absorbs the resources of a nation, wastes its strength, paralyzes its industry, lowers its standard of morals, perils its very life; and the philanthropic and benevolent must wait until the war-storm is past, before they can prosecute their plans with any hope of success.

But this reform, like every other, must encounter obstacles, and pass through different stages of growth before its final triumph. The temperance cause, was once in the eyes of the community, a most visionary scheme, unworthy of the attention of sensible men. But it fought its way upward through ranks of scorners, and gradually gained strength, until now it is a force in the civilization of the world. The foreign missionary enterprise in this country, not many years since, consisted of nothing more than the deliberation and desires of a few noble spirits, who met in a small room to consider the interests of the heathen world. A spectator might have asked, with reason, what can this little band do towards making a moral impression upon six hundred millions of the human family, whose habits and customs are fixed, whose institutions have been consolidated by the growth of ages, and who cling to their idolatries and vices with a tenacity proportioned to their ignorance and degradation? But what has been the result of this movement? Let the islands and continents of the earth answer. Let the mission churches and schools that encircle the globe, answer.

The American Peace Society has been in existence but a quarter of a century; and, although its operations have been comparatively limited, and the obstacles and prejudices with which it has had to contend have been great, yet its influence has been sensibly and extensively felt. It has aided in moulding public opinion; it has reached through its publications, directly and indirectly, millions of minds; it has influenced the action of legislators, and affected the sentiments and policy of rulers. Under the laws of influence that pervade the social world, it has touched a thousand springs of action, mingled with the different currents of thought and benevolent forces of the age, and made a beginning in securing permanent fraternal relations between the governments of the civilized world.

Unlike many other societies, its results cannot be accurately measured. From the very nature of the case, it has no statistical tables to present of conversions, of schools established, of churches formed, or of missionaries sent forth. It is an agency of influences; it operates in the field of public opinion; it seeks to plant peace principles in the national mind and heart, that from thence they may work upward into government, and establish over nations the law of love. It is striving to teach rulers, that they may live together in the same world without standing armies; that the ocean may be a highway for the commerce of nations without navies; that arbitration is a more reasonable mode of settling difficulties than by the bloody conflicts of the battle-field; and that civilization may be more successfully promoted by arguments than by cannon balls, by the voice of love than by the roar of artillery. The rulers and people, it is true, are slow to learn these doctrines; but, as intimated in the resolutions offered, we have encouragements that should stimulate us in our work. To some of these, rather than to the evils of war, I wish to direct your attention.

The progress of our cause is identified with the progress of Christianity. Wherever a pure gospel gains conquests, there the principles of peace must prevail. For the gospel is a gospel of peace. Its author is styled "Prince of Peace." At his inauguration the words of the angel-song were "Peace on earth, good will to men."

Whatever prosperity, therefore, attends Bible, Missionary, Tract and Sabbath-school Societies, is so much gain to our cause; and whatever prosperity attends us, prepares the way for their operations, just as the cessation of the war-storm, eighteen centuries ago, prepared the way for the advent of the peaceful Messiah. We both precede and follow Christianity. This Society is "a voice crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord;" and it comes after the missionary of the cross, bearing the fulfilled prophecy, "nations shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more." Every Bible that is circulated, is a peace agency; every Christian Church that is established, is a Peace Society; every Sabbath-school that is organized, shortens the reign of the demon of war. The children of this generation, by the force of their sentiments, are shaping the destiny of future nations, and giving character to the deliberations of councils that will decide the fate of empires.

We are confident, therefore, of ultimate success, because we have faith in the progress of Christianity. Christian nations may indeed go to war; but it will not be their Christianity, but their barbarism, that will provoke and sustain the war. We may be pointed to the vast standing armies in Christendom; but all those armies are standing protests against the inconsistency which creates them. They show that the reign of heathenism is not yet over, and that there is more iron and steel in the fabric of *Christian Governments* so called, than paternal love and true justice.

In our last war with Mexico, we heard a good deal said about conducting the war upon Christian principles. As well might we attempt to conduct the slave-trade upon the principle of brotherly love, or establish the inquisition upon the basis of universal religious toleration. I can hardly believe in the sanity of a man who should advance such an idea. It hardly comports with Napoleon's doctrine, who said that "War is the trade of barbarians," or with a distinguished British officer, who said, "War is a damnable profession." The attempt to do the devil's work upon Christian principles, would certainly produce an anomaly in military tactics. The antagonism of war to Christianity must be apparent to every mind, except those whose opinions are based upon a substratum of barbarism; and as surely must the war-spirit vanish before the advance of gospel truth, as the darkness of night vanishes before the splendors of the rising sun.

The progress of civil liberty, and the growth of republics, also, favor the advancement of peace principles. Most of the wars which have afflicted society, have been produced by the jealousy, caprice or ambition of rulers. They have neither been decreed nor desired by the people, though they have furnished the means to carry them on, and the human lives for sacrifice. Kings and sovereigns have gained what is called the glory, while the people's treasures and blood have flowed like water. Now, as government gets into the hands of the people, they are interested in maintaining peace with all nations. Their industrial operations, internal improvements, commerce, all depend upon peace. Even if a nation comes out of a war victorious, she is crippled, and deprived of a portion of her strength. An able general once said, "the next worse thing to a defeat, is a victory." And what is true of the army, is true of the nation. England's victories, to say nothing of the loss of life, have brought upon her a war-debt that is crushing out the very life of millions of her subjects. During the ninety days preceding and following her victory at Waterloo, she is estimated to have spent an average of \$5,000,000 per day. This, and the other enormous sums expended for war-purposes, must be paid by the sweat of some brows, and the agony of some hearts. There, too, are the war-debts of Europe, that in 1840 amounted to ten thousand millions of dollars. What imagination can depict the poverty and wretchedness that must ensue from wringing out of the hard earnings of the peasantry even the annual interest on this vast amount?

The history of our own republic for the last thirty-five years, affords an illustrious example of the blessings of national peace. We have demonstrated to the world, that it is not by battles and conquests, that a nation advances, but by enterprize and industry; not by accessions from without, but by developing internal resources. Our manufactures, agriculture, commerce, prosperity in all departments of industry, protest against the war-system. They no more need a war, than a healthy man needs the cholera, or a thriving city needs a conflagration. Under the reign of peace, it requires but a few years for our nation to double its population, wealth and power. All that we ask of other nations, is to let us alone. All that we ask of aspiring politicians in Congress, is not to make every petty difficulty with a foreign power the basis of an inflammatory war-speech filled with false ideas of honor, patriotism and "manifest destiny." We do not need to prove our respectability in the eyes of the world by engaging, every few years, in a bloody war; no more than any one here needs to prove his respectability by occasionally fighting with his neighbor. If we are in want of more land, which I am sure is not now a pressing want, we are rich enough to buy it. If we need Cuba, or think we do, we had better wait, and obtain it honorably, than to secure it by the sacrifice of our honor. If there is a nation on God's earth, that ought to be governed by principles of right and justice, and the success of which depends upon integrity and virtue, it is this American nation. We cannot afford to lose our principles, or sacrifice our national integrity. And when we consider how completely war reverses all moral sentiments, breaks down every law in the decalogue, and promotes every species of villany, we should fear it, and legislate about it as we would about a pestilence. I do not believe that one's patriotism depends upon his willingness to butcher, and be butchered; especially when I see those who make the most furious war-speeches, usually the least disposed to peril their own lives upon the battle-field.

The peace cause is also promoted by the spirit of annexation and immigration that characterizes our age. With us certainly, foreign nations are coming in fast enough without our going to war to gain dominion. Suppose that, after a war with Great Britain, we had

settled the difficulties between us by taking the population of Ireland, and bringing them over to build rail-roads, and aid in the growth and prosperity of our republic. It would certainly have been an expensive operation, besides the improbability of having the necessary work done cheerfully by persons dragged from their homes, and compelled to live in a foreign land among those of an opposite religion. But under the influence of peace, what do we see? Why, nations coming to us; and ere long, if we keep the peace, Mexico may be glad to come. Already the Sandwich Islanders have made proposals; and on our Western coast, even the Chinese are coming by thousands. Thus we see the nations ready to fraternize; and the more they mingle together, and unite their interests, the less disposed will they be to cherish the war-spirit.

There is, then, encouragement for us. Light is skirting the horizon where the war-clouds have been wont to gather. Love is gaining upon hatred. Human reason is gaining upon human passions. The world is learning, that a true patriot may look with a benignant eye beyond the confines of his own country, and that the highest national honor and glory may be compatible with national peace.

AMERICAN STATESMEN ON STIPULATED ARBITRATION.

At the close of Mr. Clark's address, Dr. BECKWITH said he had wished to give some encouraging facts respecting our own statesmen; but as there was no time now, he would barely allude to these facts, and give them, if at all, in some other way to the public. We subjoin the substance of what he intended to say, as follows:—

Mr. President, before the resolutions, moved by our friend, are put to vote, I beg leave to say a few words, inasmuch as my official duties have necessarily made me acquainted with some facts, not known to the Society at large, respecting the favor with which our plan of *superseding war by peaceful substitutes*, more especially by Stipulated Arbitration, has already been received by our own rulers both at Washington, and in our State Legislatures.

You are well aware, Sir, that we have for years been in the habit of petitioning Congress for substitutes like these in place of the sword; and early in 1851, our Committee, at the urgency of some of our wisest and most devoted friends, requested me to visit Washington, and press the subject on the attention especially of the Senate and the Executive, as the departments to whose hands the Constitution entrusts the management of our intercourse with other nations. An able and accomplished Senator from this State, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, had just brought our petition before the Senate in a brief but effective speech in its favor; and the whole matter was referred to the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations, generally the most important of all its committees, at the head of which, however, was a man whose reputation at the North, if not elsewhere, seemed to forbid all hope of success in my mission. Gen. FOOTE, of Mississippi, was its chairman, and I confess I shrunk from the thought of arguing the question of peace before such a man as I had taken him to be; but, to my grateful surprise, he welcomed my errand with every proof of entire cordiality, and showed me indeed all the courtesy and kindness I could desire. When first invited to his committee-room, I expected, at most, only the privilege of some fifteen or twenty minutes' conversation, with permission perhaps to see him again on the subject; but I had talked hardly ten minutes, when he kindly,—for I found him at bottom a kind-hearted, genial man,—though somewhat